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[The Editor, whilst grateful to all correspondents who may be kind enough to furnish him with information, desires to state that he is not responsible for the views stated by them, nor for quotations which may be inserted from other journals. The object of the REPORTER is to spread information, and articles are necessarily quoted which may contain views or statements for which their authors can alone be held responsible.]

Native Labour in South Africa.

THE danger of the introduction of forced labour into the mines of the Transvaal is in no way diminished by recent developments of the labour question and the attitude of the Government thereto. The speeches of Mr. Chamberlain in Parliament can hardly be regarded as reassuring, in spite of his strange declaration that there is "no shadow of a shade of foundation for anxiety" on this score. Much more significant was the announcement that the recruiting of 1,000 natives in British Central Africa for the mines had been sanctioned by the Foreign Office "as an experiment." An influential deputation organized by the Missions of the Scotch Churches in Central Africa waited on Lord Lansdowne on March 23rd to protest against this decision, but in vain. The Foreign Secretary was not unsympathetic with the side of the case which the speakers put before him, and admitted the risks of deporting natives so far from their homes to a climate and work which might prove uncongenial and demoralizing to them, but—South Africa was clamouring for labour, and the Government did not feel that they could resist the demand. Strict regulations had been drawn up, and if the experiment seemed to be having the disastrous results which the deputation anticipated, the Government would draw in its horns and prevent the experiment from being carried further.

In his speech in the House of Commons on March 19th, Mr. Chamberlain insisted that the whole discussion of the native question was mischievous, and insulting to the colonists, and he made the astounding statement that there was no demand by any responsible person for forced labour in any shape or form. Has Mr Chamberlain forgotten the unblushing demand for compulsion made by the mine owners at the Industrial Commission held at Johannesburg in 1897, and the repeated expression of a desire for "a cogent form of inducement" on the part of the gold magnates? More recently we had the frank declaration of the Johannesburg Chamber of Mines, in a statement prepared for Mr. Chamberlain's visit, that "more legal and moral pressure" were needed "to compel" the natives to work.

Forced labour, however, means, in the Colonial Secretary's opinion, "labour enforced by physical compulsion"—to which he is utterly opposed—but he

admitted that he did not see the difference between what some called forced labour and what he himself calls "inducement." Here, we think, is the crux of the question. If the line between "forced" and "induced" labour is so hard to define in England, what likelihood is there that any distinction will be observed in South Africa, when once the principle of "indirect" or "moral" compulsion is admitted?

Mr. Chamberlain warmly defends the taxation of the natives as a means of getting them to work, and ridicules the notion that there is any approach to slavery in this, any more than there is in the high rate of taxation to which the British citizen has recently been subjected. The present tax in the Transvaal will discourage polygamy, and is easily earned, mainly by the labour of the women, who generally do the field labour for their husbands. The condition of the natives is improved under the new Government, though Mr. Chamberlain now admits that their treatment by the Boers was not so bad as it was often made out to be.

But the chief argument used by the Colonial Secretary both in this speech and the one delivered on the same subject on the 24th March, was the paramount importance of the mining interest for the whole of South Africa. The low-grade ore mines must be worked, and therefore wages must be kept low; white labour cannot be depended on, and 100,000 more cheap labourers will have to be found. Subsequent speakers in the debate pertinently asked how far the argument as to working the low-grade ores was to be pushed. Is the rate of wages to be lowered until the lowest grade mines are made remunerative to work? In other countries mines which cannot be worked except at a loss are left alone until they can, and the demand that labour is to be cheapened all round, solely to enable the owners of these mines to secure a profit, would be deemed preposterous.

Has it come to this, that when England has gained possession of the Transvaal at the cost of so much blood and treasure, she is to settle the question of native labour at the bidding of those persons who have invested their money in speculative gold mines? or, without regard to her great traditions, to leave its settlement entirely to the colonists, as Mr. Chamberlain not obscurely hints? It is bad policy, he says, to interfere with the colonists on such subjects, and to appear to dictate to them. The Government policy is to treat the colony in regard to legislative action as if she were self-governing, and he reminds us that when once self-government is given, protests against her treatment of native questions will be useless.

But admitting the importance of getting labour for the working of the mines as for other industries, we are glad to note Mr. Chamberlain's suggestion that the mine-owners have a remedy in their own hands. They were hasty, he allows, in reducing wages after the war, and they would do well to make work in the mines, and the time of recreation, more attractive to labourers.

The Bloemfontein Inter-Colonial Conference, also, in one of its resolutions expressed the view that an increase in the labour supply will be promoted by further improving the conditions under which natives work.

These opinions are supported by statements made in the recently published Blue Book* by the Commissioner of Mines and by Sir Godfrey Lagden in his Report for last year. The latter authority admits that underground work in all countries is unpopular, and "the native is no fool." The conditions in the mines formerly were "notoriously bad," and though much has already been done in the way of housing, feeding, and sanitation, as the report by the Chief Inspector dated February 1903 shows, and the management of the compounds and the treatment of the natives has been greatly improved, still "much," writes Sir Godfrey Lagden, "remains to be done."

Lord Milner writes to the Colonial Secretary in the same sense:—

"It is obvious that, looking at the matter from the most material point of view, it will pay the mine-owners to do everything in their power to preserve the health, and not only to preserve the health but to add to the comfort and enjoyment, of their labourers. Do what you will, labour in mines will remain for black men, just as much as for white, one of the least attractive kinds of work. With so many other forms of employment competing for his services the native will naturally eschew the mines unless the conditions of his life there, as well as the rate of his wages, counter-balance the disagreeable nature of his work."

In regard to the consolidated tax of £2 per able-bodied male now levied on the Transvaal natives, with an additional £2 for each wife after the first, a comparison with the amounts levied under the Boer Government is difficult, because, although they might come out on paper at over £4 per head, no one native paid all the taxes, and, besides being subject to restrictions and limitations (e.g., natives who worked for Europeans, in the mines or elsewhere, were exempted from the poll-tax and hut-tax), they were very irregularly collected.

It seems clear, however, that the independent labourer is more heavily taxed now than before.

The Colonial Secretary maintains that the present taxation is reasonable, and Sir Godfrey Lagden, in a Memorandum of last year, describes it as moderate from all points of view, although it may be high as compared with taxes imposed elsewhere. The present amount, which it was proposed to start collecting in April of this year, will necessitate work for at least one clear month out of the twelve.

Lord Milner considers that the tax affords "peculiarly little occasion for controversy."

"It is not high considering the ample amount of excellent land in the possession of the natives, the unlimited demand for their labour at high wages, and the perfect protection from any kind of injustice or oppression which they now enjoy. It is not so high as the tax imposed by the late Government, and though the tax was very loosely collected and yielded a very inadequate sum to the Treasury, there is no doubt that on the average the native under the old *régime* was made to pay more than his legal due, besides being liable to every kind of petty, and sometimes cruel, tyranny, from which he is now free."

*Cd. 1551.

He believes it will be readily paid, and he is not aware of "any serious demand for its increase." At the same time, he is not hopeful that taxation will, by itself, go far to solve the labour problem, and there are, in his opinion, many other devices likely to be much more potent in increasing and maintaining the supply.

But the Colonial Secretary recommends using taxation as an instrument to convince the native of the dignity of labour, and to prevent him from leading the life of a pig, as well as to discourage him from polygamy. This is a dangerous doctrine and may easily carry us further than we think. There is abundant evidence from those who really know the native at home that the picture so often drawn of the African as a lazy savage basking all day in the sun, while his slave-wives do all his work for him, is by no means generally true to fact.

"I venture to affirm," says a writer in the Universities' Mission Journal for April, "that the African is not lazy, that he is seldom even idle, and that the man takes a fair share of the work that has to be done."

As regards polygamy, we have it on the authority of the recent Bloemfontein Conference that :—

"Except in Rhodesia, the influence of polygamy on the labour supply is greatly exaggerated. Polygamy is decreasing from natural causes, the advance of civilization, and the ameliorated condition of women. Ploughs have relieved them largely from field labour."

Lord Milner's recent interim report dated March last, contains some interesting remarks on many of these important subjects and we are glad to notice his decided opinion against the imposition of taxation as a mere means of enforcing labour from the natives. His remarks on the clamour for forced labour are noteworthy as compared with the assertion of the Bloemfontein Conference that "forced labour is repugnant to civilized opinion throughout the country," and Mr. Chamberlain's similar statement in the House of Commons.

Lord Milner thus writes on the questions of native labour and taxation :—

NATIVE LABOUR.

"The problem is, no doubt, one difficult of solution. If it was merely a question of increasing the 50,000 native labourers whom we have on the mines to-day to the 100,000 which was the *maximum* before the war, the difficulty which is being experienced, though annoying, would not be so very serious. That we shall get back to 100,000, though perhaps very slowly, may be regarded as certain. But the troublesome fact is that, with the immense development of which the mines are capable, they would soon be in a position to employ 200,000, and even a larger number if they could get them. At the same time the demand for native labour in other directions is increasing daily. Besides the gold mines of the Rand there are other gold mines in the Transvaal to be worked or tested, if there are only the hands to do it. The immense deposits of coal are only at the beginning of their development, to say nothing

of the wholly unworked stores of iron, copper, and other minerals. Public works and railways and the development of private enterprise in many new directions will all heighten the demand for labour, and the supply of native labour, at any rate south of the Zambesi, is limited. Estimates vary as to its total amount, but it can hardly be doubted that it is not sufficient to provide for all the possible developments of the early future.

"There is an infinite variety of suggestions for the solution of the problem thus presented, but so far no panacea has emerged from the babel of conflicting theories. The loudest, but by no means the best informed or most influential, section clamour for the adoption of measures to compel the black man to work. When closely examined all the rhodomontade on this subject resolves itself into the advocacy of higher taxation on the native population.

TAXATION.

"For my own part, I think, and always have thought, that the natives of South Africa, who enjoy the blessings of civilized government, contribute, on the whole, too little towards the expenses of the Administration by which they benefit so greatly. No doubt the rate of taxation ought to vary according to the circumstances of the several districts. . . . But, having regard to the circumstances of each region, it may be said that the taxation of the natives is nowhere excessive and is in most cases decidedly light, while the taxation of the white population is almost everywhere heavy. It is unfortunate that it is impossible to discuss this question on its merits without being accused of ulterior designs. In my opinion, it would be unjustifiable to put a high tax upon the native simply in order to force him to work, even if it were clear, and it is by no means clear, that he is averse to work without it. But, on the other hand, it certainly appears absurd to denounce the imposition upon the native of a reasonable share of taxation merely because such a proceeding, in itself just, might incidentally cause him to work rather more than he otherwise would. The two questions are independent of one another, and it is unfortunate from every point of view that they are so constantly mixed up."

In the matter of recruiting for a supply of native labour for the mines, Mr. Chamberlain has admitted that "we have to be careful," but he contends that it is very unfair to prevent labourers from taking the opportunity of getting work in South Africa, where they will get higher wages, and that to stand between the native and what will be to his advantage is "perfectly monstrous." Dr. Henderson, in the letter from which we quote on another page, describes this argument as being rather specious than solid, and one which would condemn all restrictions which the Government has imposed for the good of the natives.

The Papers relating to the recruitment of 1,000 labourers from British Central Africa,* which were published at the end of April, state that the proposal originated with the Commissioner of the Protectorate, who in a telegram to the Foreign Office represented that 20,000 people were suffering from famine in Ruo and Lower Shiré districts, and asked permission to send men to South Africa for work. Lord Lansdowne, in reply, agreed that 1,000 men should go with the Transvaal Agent under strict regulations, which are given at length in this

* Africa No. 2 (1903).

White Paper. In the opinion of Sir Henry Cotton, who has had great experience of the transport of labourers in India, these regulations are far from adequate, and where labourers are moved about from one part of a Continent to another, fraud and deception, and misunderstanding, even with the best intentions, are unavoidable.

We are assured that the Government have no present intention of trying to secure labourers elsewhere than in British Central Africa, but it is only too probable, especially in view of the recommendation of the Bloemfontein Conference "that all British possessions in South, Central, and East Africa should be an open field for recruiting," that the experiment will be carried further; indeed Sir Percy Fitzpatrick in a recent speech assured his hearers that they had "obtained from Mr. Chamberlain promises of support in these matters."

In a long letter to *The Times* of March 18, Bishop Tucker of Uganda pointed out in forcible language the physical and moral dangers which would be incurred by the deportation of labourers for the mines from the Uganda Protectorate. On the ground of danger to health alone from the change of climate and diet—of which the Bishop gave a terrible illustration in the loss a few years ago of over 2,000 lives of Baganda porters who had been engaged to take 500 Indian coolies to the rail-head—he wrote:

"I maintain that it is the duty of H.M. Government to refuse permission for the enlistment of labour among the Baganda. It is my firm conviction, and also the opinion of every missionary, Anglican or Roman, with whom I have discussed the question, that, if allowed to go to South Africa for labour in the mines, the natives of Uganda will simply die like flies."

In addition to these reasons Bishop Tucker laid stress on the great need of labour for the development of Uganda itself, and the danger of demoralization and moral ruin to the deported natives.

Sir Henry Stanley has spoken in even stronger language of the proposal to take labour from Uganda as "the greatest folly ever heard of; aye, and worse than a folly . . . a crime."

In view of the pressing importance of the whole question the Anti-Slavery Society arranged with the Aborigines Protection Society to hold a joint public meeting, the report of which follows.

JOINT PUBLIC MEETING.

A PUBLIC meeting, jointly arranged by the Anti-Slavery Society and the Aborigines Protection Society on the Native Labour question, was held in the Caxton Hall, Westminster, on the evening of Wednesday, the 29th of April, when the Right Hon. Sir John Gorst, M.P., occupied the chair, and was supported by the Presidents of both Societies, the Right Hon. Lord Overtoun, Sir Henry Cotton, K.C.S.I., Mr. Herbert Samuel, M.P., Mr. Will Crooks, M.P., Mr. Thomas Bayley, M.P., and others. There was a good attendance.

The meeting was opened by the speech of the Chairman, Sir JOHN E. GORST, M.P., who said: We are assembled here to-night not for the purpose of attacking either the British Government or that of the Transvaal, but to strengthen the hands of the Governments by clear enunciation of those principles on the subject of slavery which have been so long maintained by the British people, and for which they have made in the past so many sacrifices. Now the doctrine that it is the duty of a civilized protecting State to induce the natives to be industrious is perfectly sound, although it would not do to press it too far, because if applied to white people nearer home it might give rise to some developments which might be extremely inconvenient. It is clear that when applied to native races it is the subject of two clear limitations; first, that the industry to which they are to be induced is useful and beneficial to themselves; and secondly, that our inducement is not to proceed too far, or so far as to spell compulsion. But this doctrine is not a new one; it is the very doctrine which the Government of Spain endeavoured to impress upon the original Spanish colonists of the West Indian Islands after the discovery by Columbus, and yet, notwithstanding the repeated benevolent efforts of the Spanish Government to secure the observance of this doctrine, the employment of natives, in the first instance by wages in the gold mines of the Brazils, degenerated into a slavery so cruel that the whole of the aboriginal natives of the West Indian Islands were exterminated. I do not think that there is any very great danger of any result of that kind being obtained in the case of the Transvaal. It is perfectly clear that the number of natives in the Transvaal is not great enough to supply the whole demands of the labour on the gold mines, and Lord Milner, in a very recent despatch, says that the clamour for the adoption of measures to compel the black man to work resolves itself into the advocacy of higher taxation on the native population, and then he goes on to say, "I greatly doubt whether the total abolition of the tax would cause any serious diminution in the labour supply, while I do not believe that if it were doubled the great problem of a sufficient labour supply would be far advanced to its solution." It is estimated by the Native Department of the Transvaal that there are 80,000 native inhabitants, strong enough and fit to labour, but then upon these natives there is a very great demand besides the demands of the gold mines. The reports of the Native Commissioners in various parts of the Transvaal go to show that there are a large number of these who are employed in cultivating their land. This is a very beneficial form of industry, and very useful to themselves; besides that there are a large number required on the farms of the Dutch and English farmers; and many also are in the service of Europeans in other capacities. In addition to this there is an extraordinary demand upon the labour of the Transvaal, e.g., for the army of occupation and for the police. Then there is all the damage which was done by the war which has to be restored; the houses have to be rebuilt, railways have to be repaired, bridges have to be rebuilt, roads and telegraphs and stores to be supplied, and the necessary operations

will absorb a great deal of labour. Besides that there is the repatriation and settlement of the inhabitants of the Transvaal now in the concentration camps, and in the establishments for prisoners of war, which will give a great deal of employment to labour. Then there are public works which are to the advantage of the general population of the Transvaal, and there are various new industries, and even the prospecting of new mines which will absorb for some time to come a great deal of this industry. The report of the Commissioner for Native Affairs in the Transvaal is this—"There are as many, if not more native labourers working within the Transvaal to-day—though not on the mines—as there were before the war," so that there is no ground either for saying that the Transvaal natives are idle, or that they are not working as hard as they were before the war, only they are working, not at the gold mines, but at other industries which have a prior and a more urgent claim upon them. I think, therefore, that in that state of things there is not a very great danger to the natives of the Transvaal, particularly after the sentiments of Lord Milner which I have read to you. But what I consider the most urgent danger is to the natives who are, or may be brought into the Transvaal from other parts of Africa. Now this shifting of coloured people from one portion of the world to another is one of the most serious dangers in the possible development of slavery. Shocking as was the treatment of the aboriginal inhabitants of the West Indian Islands by the Spanish explorers, it was nothing compared to the horrors which took place when natives were brought in from other parts of the newly-discovered land, and when finally negro slaves were imported from the coast of Africa, it gave rise to that frightful development of negro slavery, to put an end to which the British Government one hundred years ago spent a vast sum of money, and which cost the American nation, about forty or fifty years ago, a bloody war, and a vast expenditure of blood and treasure. Now these natives are recruited partly from foreign territory, and partly from parts of Africa which are under the protection of our own Government, and for which we are definitely responsible. I believe there is a question of the treatment of natives brought in from Portuguese territory, but for the moment we can only deal with those coming from within our own territories. There ought to be very stringent laws, as there used to be in Queensland when the natives from the Polynesian Islands were brought over for the cultivation of sugar, for securing proper and humane treatment to them. Now in regard to our own Protectorates—I refer particularly to Nyasaland and Uganda, and to other parts of Central Africa which are under our own immediate protection—we are bound to consider, firstly, the interests of the country itself, and its development, and, secondly, the interests of its inhabitants, both white and black. There is no comparison to be drawn between the proposed recruiting of the natives in the tropical parts of Africa, and what has been going on for years in relation to the Coolie emigrants from India. The Coolie emigration from India takes its rise in the interests of India, and of the Coolies themselves. The ground for that is, that the

pressure of the population upon the land in the Ganges Valley is so great, that it is impossible for the very great number of natives who are crowded together upon the Ganges Valley to find a proper subsistence, and it is for the interest of the country and of the natives themselves that some of them should go and seek employment elsewhere, either in the tea gardens of Assam, or in the sugar plantations of Mauritius and in some parts of East Africa. But in Central Africa there is, so far as we know, no pressure of population upon the land. On the contrary, the land is not producing what it might produce for lack of labour upon it, and there is, in Nyasaland and elsewhere, abundance of opportunity for the natives of those regions to employ themselves in agricultural industry, in growing cotton, corn and sugar, and other tropical products which can be grown there, without going far afield to seek subsistence. Then besides their own agricultural industry, there are of course large public works, which are being developed by British capital in these regions, works of a commercial character, which it is for the interest of the place itself to develop. Let me point to what has been done by the colony of Natal. The colony of Natal, as you know, is a British colony possessing self-government, the majority of whose population is Anglo-Saxon, which naturally looks after the interests of its own inhabitants, both black and white. Now the colony of Natal has passed a law forbidding the recruiting of natives in Natal by agents. I think our own Government ought to consider whether they should not follow the example of Natal, and, until it is proved that there is some advantage to Nyasaland or to Uganda in getting rid of the native labour, they ought to prohibit recruiting. If you take a large and wide view of this matter, not considering the interests of the Transvaal or of Nyasaland, or of Natal, but of all the world, what is the advantage to the world at large? The gold in the Transvaal, if it is not extracted this year, will be there; if we were to suspend all operations in working the gold for twenty years, the gold would be there. It is not wasted. It would be got by another generation; but if you deprive the land of its labour, so that it lies waste instead of producing cotton and sugar and other products which are useful to mankind, that loss is a loss for ever. The present generation is poorer by the lack of the produce of the land which might be raised by labour, and the loss cannot be retrieved. Therefore I consider that upon all considerations of humanity towards the natives, considerations of opposing what, in the history of the world, has always led to slavery and to abuses, our Government ought to weigh very seriously the propriety of prohibiting any recruiting of labour from these central districts of Africa which are not over-populated, and where the population can be employed in industry to such great advantage. (Cheers.)

The Secretary of the Anti-Slavery Society then stated that letters expressing regret at their inability to attend, and approval of the objects of the meeting, had been received from the Bishop of Chichester, the Bishop of Hereford, the Bishop of Worcester, Canon Scott-Holland, the Right Hon. Sir Charles Dilke, M.P., the

Right Hon. Leonard Courtney, Sir Edward Clarke, K.C., Sir Mark Stewart, M.P., and others. GENERAL SIR CHARLES WARREN, who was prevented by illness from moving the first resolution, wrote :—

"I am opposed to the introduction of forced labour among the natives of South Africa, and to bringing labourers for the Rand Mines from Central Africa. Such a condition of affairs may very easily approach, insensibly, to slavery. In my opinion, there is only one solution of the labour difficulty in South Africa, if it is to succeed as a Colony, viz., the white man must undertake manual labour. Just before the war (*i.e.*, in 1898), there were hundreds of poor whites employed on unskilled labour in making roads for Government, to keep them from starvation, while natives were doing the skilled labour. The white man will not work along with the native, at the same work. It is a thorny subject that I have heard discussed for the last twenty-five years, and I feel convinced that we are at the turning of the way just now. With the Dutch increasing so rapidly year by year, and the natives increasing almost as rapidly, the only safety for the natives is to keep large native reserves or territories, like Basutoland, where they can live and work and improve according to their own powers. The mixture of the native and white man in the labour field, for some years to come, is destruction to both, morally and financially. I look upon the native question in South Africa as a far larger and more important question than the Transvaal question was. The native tribes of Africa have hitherto looked upon us (except on one occasion) as averse to slavery and injustice. The one occasion (when we were not true to our principles) was on annexing the Transvaal in 1876. We then allowed the Boers to continue their slavery over the natives. The result was immediate—all South Africa revolted, causing the native war of 1877-8-9. If we are not careful now we may put *all the natives of Africa* against us, and may get involved in native difficulties."

THE REV. DR. HENDERSON (Foreign Mission Committee of United Free Church of Scotland), who recently took part in the deputation to the Foreign Office, wrote :—

"It is too manifest that your efforts to arouse the conscience of the nation are not unneeded. Our recent deputation on the subject to Lord Lansdowne found him very sympathetic. In some other quarters we met with a rather hostile feeling, and were told that it was absolutely necessary to get a supply of labour for the mines of the Transvaal, as the prosperity of that country depended on it. It is only too easy to see how those who so think will not scruple to use very strong pressure to obtain that cheap native labour which they regard as so necessary to enable the Transvaal to pay its obligations to this country, and the gold mines to pay 'prosperous' dividends. The line between 'induced' and 'forced' labour will be very difficult to define and observe, when recruiting agents are once let loose among native races, with Government authority to raise a specified number of labour recruits. It is also hard to see why Central Africa should be spoiled of the labour it so much needs for the benefit of South Africa. It is said that it is unreasonable to keep men in Central Africa who desire to better themselves by going to work elsewhere. But that is a specious rather than a solid argument and would, if valid, condemn all those restrictions which the Government has imposed for the good of the natives.

Why is Central Africa a 'Protectorate' but to protect it against the evils of slave hunting and its attendant evils? One might else as well ask why restrict the liberty of the natives in the spending of their earnings on drink and gambling?"

SIR T. FOWELL BUXTON, Bart., G.C.M.G., after referring to the fact that the meeting was jointly called by the two Societies, which had always shown readiness to act together in their common work, said that he moved the first resolution as the President of the Anti-Slavery Society, which wished for the sake of the great cause which it had at heart to be entirely independent of anything approaching to party politics. He was sure that all present desired that prosperity should attend the operations of all the industries of South Africa. They wished well alike to the farming classes and to the mining people. He had seen the prosperity of the mines in Western Australia, and in America, and knew that large populations could live very happily on these mines; he hoped this was going to be the case in South Africa, and that their prosperity would be shared by the vast number of black people as well as the white. They had to look not merely to what the Government had done, but to what certain classes appeared to demand. There had been an appearance of a demand for compulsion in some form or another; he felt sure that they were all of one mind in wishing to oppose that. It was perfectly right that black people should pay taxes as well as others. Taxes, like rain, fall upon the just and the unjust, both the black and the white, and there was no objection to reasonable taxation, but when it took the form of more than reasonable taxation in order to compel men to work in the mines, then he hoped that not only they in that room,—the supporters of the two Societies,—but the country at large, would remember its ancient principles, and protest against it. They must not forget that certain classes would suffer very unfairly. Men who had been to the mines and worked for years, having gone back to their homes, might be compelled to return as well as any idler who might be hanging around. That would be grievously unjust. Then, again, there were, notably in Bechuanaland and Basutoland, native farmers who had laboured hard on their farms in producing good crops of the type of the ordinary Boer farm. Not in the present day alone, but in the days of Livingstone, fifty years ago, and more recently in the days of John Mackenzie, there were raids into countries such as Bechuanaland, and the tools that they carried away from the kraals they attacked were noticed by all as being the same sort as would have been carried away from a Boer village. These black men had hoes and spades and tools of that sort on their farms, and it would be a monstrous injustice if any arrangement was made to compel such men to leave their prosperous farms and to follow other crafts. That is what there would be a very great risk of, because he knew by long experience that there was a large class of blacks whom the British farmers, it might be, as well as the Dutch farmers, most cordially disliked. They did not like the black man as an independent farmer. There was another class that they hated still more—the

teachers or ministers who might be helping to raise their fellow-tribesmen around them. Those were classes who would suffer very grievously. Then they were told that natives were all hopelessly idle and ought to be compelled. The great number of natives who caught the eye were those who were engaged in herding flocks or herds, and it was very possible that a shepherd in charge of a flock might not visibly be very busy. But it was no proof that a man is idle that he is not actually doing anything at the moment, and the man who guards his flock is just as much on the alert as the man who may be hammering at an anvil. Again, they were told that all the married women are slaves; that every Kaffir in a kraal is idling about, and his wives, it may be more than one, are working for him. He hoped the rule would be observed that it is not the business of the Government to interfere with the marriage arrangements of any community of which we have the control. Even Missionary Societies had not always been perfectly unanimous as to the best method of dealing with polygamy. Further, the more they looked into this matter, the more they would see that the marriages of Kaffirs were conducted according to the rules and regulations that they perfectly well understood, and were to the benefit of those men and women, and that if the women have their share of the work to do, the men do theirs, and it was no more the case that the woman was there as a slave than was the British housekeeper at home. It was quite clear that the mining work had become very disagreeable to large numbers of those who have worked in them, and those who were interested in mines should ask themselves whether they have been perfectly far-sighted and wise in their method. There was a time when there was a frightful amount of mortality amongst those who were employed on some of the mines, and although the arrangements had been improved, yet, at all events, the rumour of that bad state of things had gone very far, and been discussed in every kraal. We had not merely to improve the arrangements in the present, but to see to it that the improvements were known also. It was certain that if they had been more far-sighted as to the method of managing Kaffirs in the mines they would have found less reluctance than they did now. Then, again, they were told that unless cheap labour was forthcoming some of the low-grade mines would go out of work. There was nothing new in that. In every mining district there had been unsuccessful ventures: one man strikes a good lode, another does not. In the Rocky Mountains one might find any quantity of abandoned mines. In Western Australia also they might be shewn over the prosperous mines that are doing splendidly, and have every prospect of continuing to do so, but over the plain they would see an abundance of rusting, miserable-looking iron framework which told of ventures which had been unsuccessful. Why on earth should the power and force of the Empire be employed in order to bring it about that certain workers in South Africa ought to have an advantage over these men? The men in those mines in Australia and Queensland, and wherever gold is produced, would have ground for complaint, if special exclusive advantages were given

to the mines in South Africa. They had to use white labour, they had to pay for it, and they knew that their mines were becoming the centres of valuable Anglo-Saxon communities, and why should the Empire go out of its way to provide something else in South Africa? He felt sure that there would be a very considerable feeling raised on that score which we had not yet heard of up to the present. It was his duty to move the following resolution:—

"That this meeting, in view of the demand which has been made for the
"application of pressure to compel natives to work in the Transvaal
"mines, appeals to His Majesty's Government to prevent resort to any
"form of compulsion, by excessive taxation or otherwise, and to ensure
"for the natives of British South Africa freedom in disposing of their
"labour, and the immunity from any approach to slavery, to which they
"are entitled as subjects of the British Crown." (Applause.)

The Rt. Hon. LORD OVERTOUN seconded the resolution as Chairman of the Scottish Livingstonia Mission in Central Africa. That Mission had laboured for over 26 years to bring the Gospel and civilization to the people on the west coast of Lake Nyasa. They had not only founded native churches, but taught many trades, such as carpentering, engineering, printing, etc., and agriculture. They viewed with consternation the move now initiated by the Government to deport the natives, who had been thus trained, to the gold mines of the Transvaal. The Government had stated that a large number of people were starving in some districts, but he had not yet heard of any famine in their industrial district, where there was occupation for every labourer who was willing to work. They did not wish to interfere with the ordinary laws of supply and demand, but they objected to the recruiting of labour for the gold mines under Government authority; for he felt sure that pressure would be put upon the natives and that such pressure would increase. Hitherto the men who had gone voluntarily to the mines either never came back at all, or came back so demoralized that they were not only of no use for work, but became a demoralizing influence in the land. People just emerging from heathenism were very susceptible to many of the temptations of so-called civilization. He therefore viewed with the deepest alarm the new departure of the Government. A law had been passed in 1898 similar to that in Natal, forbidding natives in Nyasaland to leave the Protectorate except under most stringent conditions, and by special permission. Why should this provision now be relaxed at the demand of the Transvaal gold mines? There must be a good deal of the press-gang about the whole thing. Within the last fifteen years the Mission had introduced the cultivation of coffee, sugar, grain, etc., and had erected industrial works. The whole population therefore was needed to carry out the development of the country. The Government had authorized the recruiting scheme as an experiment, and had asked the objectors to watch it very carefully; but such a movement, once started, would be very hard to stop. The good work of the missionaries, who were there before any Commissioners of the British Crown had gone, had been

done without the aid of a single soldier or the firing of a shot. If the Transvaal gold mines wanted labour, let them pay for it, and raise the wages of the Kaffirs. He hoped that this meeting would do something to prevent the Government from carrying any further that experiment which he believed to be wrong in principle, and utterly detrimental to the welfare of the natives.

MR. WILL CROOKS, M.P., in supporting the resolution, said that he was delighted to hear the speeches which had been delivered. Language had been used lately which seemed to construe slavery somehow or other into something else. He had looked round to find a new word for slavery. In childhood we had been taught to rejoice in the thought that we belonged to a nation which could not tolerate slavery under any name. The cultivation of the land must be of vastly more importance to us as a civilized community than any number of diamonds that are in or out of the land. It had recently been well said that if diamonds could not be got out of the ground without our sacrificing great principles of justice and liberty, they had better stay in it. He recalled the lines of Russell Lowell :—

“Working men and working women, 'tis plain as one and one make two,

Those who make black slaves of niggers soon will make white slaves of you.”

Was all the glorious work that had been done by the missionaries to be sacrificed in the interests of Park Lane? He should be ashamed to call himself an Englishman if he did not protest against it again and again. We accepted things nowadays which our grandfathers would have broken our heads for; they would have refused to argue the point at all. The South African millionaires wanted His Majesty's Government to give them power to force labourers to the mines not to get cheaper food, but in order that they might become the means of getting more wealth. If every English man and woman, and every British-born subject who enjoyed all the freedom that their fathers fought for, quietly sat down and allowed the suggested state of things to go on, they did not deserve the liberty they enjoyed to-day.

The CHAIRMAN then put the resolution, which was carried unanimously.

Sir HENRY COTTON said that he supposed he had been asked to move the second resolution on the ground that he had had very considerable experience in the system of emigration from one part of a large continent to another. His experience had been in India under conditions not altogether dissimilar to those which now exist in South Africa. He referred to the tea industry centred in the Province of Assam over which he had presided for about six years. During the past forty-five years there had been a steady stream of emigration from India to Assam. The total immigrant population in Assam now amounted to not less than 600,000 souls, and they had been imported from parts of India involving a journey (on an average) of 1,000 miles. The Government had passed many laws and regulations, and many rules had been framed to regulate the traffic and to remove the many evils which surround it; but the amount of fraud and deception, of suffering and misery which had been inflicted on these people,

during the past fifty years, almost exceeded description. In the first place, there was the question of fraud; the armies of recruiters, employed by people who contract with the planters, indulge in the most deplorable amount of fraud and deception. The records of the criminal courts were full of these instances. Further, he had known years in which the mortality had amounted to as much as 49 per thousand of the population transported, and that merely within the few days which the journey had taken. He had known in one month no less than eighty miserable emigrants taken out dead and dying from the railway train alone. The journey had been described by an able administrator in India as rivalling the horrors of the Middle Passage. Of course they had improved now very much on that state of things. In the majority of cases the tea gardens were managed by kindly, honest English gentlemen, where the labourers were well treated and looked after, but there was a large residuum, where the conditions were not so favourable. Turning from India to Africa, the speaker referred to the regulations for the protection of the emigrants to South Africa, which had just been published in a Parliamentary White Book. These he had examined with some care, being very familiar with the similar rules and regulations which are laid down for the protection of the emigrants in India, and he had formed a very unfavourable impression of them. They could not compare, either in the care with which they had been prepared, or in the details to which they relate, with the similar regulations in force in India. Among other provisions there was a very proper and necessary one which provided that each native, on volunteering, should be brought before an officer who would satisfy himself that the said native was thoroughly aware of the terms of contract and service. In India the natives had opportunities of associating with people of their own country who had already been employed in tea gardens, and had returned and told them of the state of things. But here the men would be wholly ignorant of the character of the labour, of the life, of the climate, and of the conditions of the country to which they were going. The Judicial Officer in Nyasaland would not be in a position to explain to these semi-savages, who had been recruited and came before him, the character of the labour to which they would be subjected, and the climate. Mr. Chamberlain evidently entertained some suspicions on this account, for in his speech to the House on the 24th of March, he said, "Cannot the conditions be put before them by the missionaries?"—evidently holding the Judicial Officer in considerable mistrust. Imagine the friction which is likely to arise between these philanthropic missionaries and the Government of the country and the recruiting agency! Naturally missionaries would not care to thwart the Administration, or to thrust themselves forward. Then Mr. Chamberlain went on in that speech, "Unless the native after considering the whole circumstances"—as if these men were in a position to consider the circumstances—"is convinced that it is to his advantage to go, he will not go, and if he goes to the mines

and dislikes the work he can find employment on other occupations." Now that was exactly what he could *not* do. He would go on a year's contract, and if when he got there he found that it was extremely unpleasant work, and that he disliked the conditions, he could do nothing. He was not liable to be flogged as he was under the old ordinances; that provision had been abrogated under Mr. Chamberlain's orders, but all the rest of the section would remain, and he was liable to a fine of £10, and if he could not pay that, to imprisonment for a period of three months, and after he had served his time or paid his fine, he was to be returned to the tender mercies of the employer from whom he was taken. That, the speaker said, was monstrous. A man from Nyasaland would not know a single man in the country who could speak his own language, and he could not speak the languages of South Africa. The speaker had seen in Assam the physical effect on emigrants to be very bad indeed. For forty years the deaths among adults averaged about 50 per thousand—a monstrous mortality. (In England the mortality amongst adults in the prime of life is about 8 per thousand.) That mortality was due to the change to another climate and to the hard work, and the living under unaccustomed conditions which caused them to die mostly in their first year, after being transferred from a hot climate to one really cold. Johannesburg is some 6,000 feet above the level of the sea; and in the winter it is very cold. Coming from a tropical place they would suffer from disease, as they had done in India. He would not dwell in detail on the question of the demoralization to which they would be exposed, for it must be obvious to all. The emigrant's family were to be supported during his absence by four shillings a month. But in case that native died, what arrangement was made for his wife and family? One of the worst features in this emigration from one part of Africa to another was the separation from the family. Mr. Chamberlain had said that he was in favour of giving the Kaffir who was removed from Central Africa or other parts of Africa to South Africa precisely the same protection as is given to the coolie who leaves India for the West Indies. But in the initial stage, at all events, he had done nothing to ensure that protection. It had been stated in the papers that £150,000 had been subscribed for the purpose of sending recruiters through different parts of Africa, £50,000 of which had been subscribed by Mr. J. B. Robinson, of Park Lane. It made all the difference in the world in such matters whether the protection was afforded in the first instance officially, or whether recruiters were allowed to go, who could only get the desired labour by fraud and deception. Mr. Chamberlain had said that the risks of severance from the family and deterioration in the towns attached equally to the coolie from India, but this was not so. There was a rule that 40 per cent. of coolie emigrants from India must always be females, and as a matter of fact the proportion always exceeded 40 per cent. Again, the Indian coolie who went to Jamaica was not thrust into the mines or made to work like the African natives, but was sent to labour on similar work to

that upon which he was engaged in his own country—sugar cultivation, or gardening of some kind. The demoralizing influence would be very different when a man was sent to a large mining town like Johannesburg. These regulations did not allow sufficiently for the inspection of labourers employed in the mines by a competent Government agency. Unless that was done the most terrible results would ensue. There was of course to be some sort of inspection, but the powers here defined could not be compared with those which are given to the inspectors of labour in Assam. Again, with respect to housing accommodation, water supply, and proper medical advice for labourers, the speaker found these rules most insufficient and inadequate, and they gave no authority to the inspectors to obtain the information which they would need to prepare reports of the conditions under which the labour is employed, the mortality, the desertions, and various other important matters relating to the labourers' condition. He did not believe that a satisfactory conclusion in regard to labour in South Africa would be reached until the matter was enquired into by a Royal Commission, consisting of independent persons, who would be in a position to enquire into the matter fully and lay down complete rules to guide the Administration, which had had no previous experience in these matters, in enforcing and improving the laws.

MR. HERBERT SAMUEL, M.P., in seconding the resolution, said that the objections to drawing labourers from the more northerly parts of Central Africa to take them to the Transvaal were, threefold: moral, economic, and physical. When present at the deputation to Lord Lansdowne, he had been much impressed by the emphasis laid by the missionaries, who had themselves worked in British Central Africa, on the evil likely to be wrought by drawing the natives from that territory into the Transvaal, taking them from their simple vocations and more or less primitive ways of life, and placing them amidst the temptations of a great, and not a highly moral, town. These evils, they said, would inevitably work infinite harm to the people who were affected by them, and the results, one missionary had said, would be worse than polygamy itself. Then as to the economic objections. If that experiment succeeded (*i.e.*, if too many of the thousand did not die), they would have all the British Protectorates in Central Africa thrown open to recruiting, and before very long 100,000 would be drawn for the service of the Transvaal, and even 100,000 would not suffice to meet the demand. It was absurd that we should deplete our other Protectorates for the advantage of this one colony, and seeing that we had just spent £6,000,000 on the building of the Uganda Railway, it would be the height of folly to withdraw the most intelligent and healthy labourers who would be likely to feed that railway, with the inevitable result that the British taxpayer would have to postpone for a very long time any hope of recoupment of the money that he had spent. He had visited Uganda and knew that the population was quite

inadequate for the development of that country, and to take men away from there and give them to the Transvaal was, from an economic point of view, the height of folly. But an even graver objection was the physical objection—the objection on the score of climate. The people of Uganda, although they are of good muscular development, are of delicate constitution; they cannot live outside of their own climate. Sir Henry Stanley had told the speaker that when they attempted to take natives from Uganda as bearers, even a short distance from their country, they succumbed in considerable numbers, no matter how well fed and how well treated they might be; and Bishop Tucker recently wrote to the *Times*, that in one expedition no fewer than 2,000 natives from Uganda had died simply of the change of diet and climate. With regard to climate, Uganda is on the Equator, Johannesburg is 26° south of the Equator. To take natives from Uganda to put them to work at Johannesburg, would be much the same in point of distance as to take people from Algeria or Morocco and set them to work on the hills in Scotland. A very large number of these people must inevitably perish if they were sent to a climate which is so utterly unsuitable to them. This proposal was made simply because there are a certain number of Englishmen with more money than they want, who are anxious to make fortunes in a hurry. Gold seems to produce in many people a heartlessness which leads them to make proposals such as we have heard. What, the speaker asked, was to be the solution of this labour question? We should endeavour to be constructive. We did not realize the difficulties which had stood in the way of natives who were willing to go to work in the mines, such as the enormous distances which they had to travel; the difficulties from unsuitable food, from cold in the winter, and from insanitary conditions, which often resulted in a seriously high death-rate. Then they were exposed to temptations through drink, which they were unable to resist; they could not make themselves understood owing to difficulties in language; they were compelled to mix with races with whom they had been for generations in hostility. They frequently found that the promises made to them by the recruiting touts were not fulfilled; they were often subject to violent treatment in order to make them produce the utmost amount of work, and on their way home they were frequently robbed of their savings. It was a miracle not that so few labourers went to the mines, but that so many tens of thousands were still able and willing to go. It showed that the natives, so far from being idlers and loafers, must be indeed desirous of earning money by honest labour, or they would not put up with the many difficulties that stood in their way. At the present time these difficulties were being largely removed, and the Chief Commissioner of Native Affairs in the Transvaal had been doing his utmost. In so far as natives could not be obtained, then we should endeavour to get white labour by lowering the cost of living, which in Johannesburg is artificially kept up by the Trusts and the Rings. Mr. Samuel then drew attention to the report

of the Commissioner of Mines in Johannesburg who showed that the average of white employes in the mines had been steadily increasing. So far from it being impossible to employ a larger number of white men, that was precisely the solution which the mine-owners were now successfully endeavouring to urge. Under such circumstances, surely it was futile to urge that drastic pernicious measures should be used to increase the labour supply, when the question was solving itself, by improved facilities, by better treatment at the mines, by increasing the labour-saving appliances, and the number of white men employed there.

Mr. E. WRIGHT BROOKS said the fact that they had been called upon at the present day to introduce under another name a system of slavery,—for it amounted to that,—in the centre of Africa, was a thing that some years ago would have been thought to be an impossibility. What was about to take place in Uganda and those Central African Provinces was the recruitment of one thousand labourers to begin with, but if these men were merely to be received as volunteers for the labour in the mines, he was inclined to think the recruitment would not go very far; if, on the other hand, those men were to be seduced and beguiled, and forced by the authorities to go from their native land into a strange land to conditions of labour of which they had no knowledge, and which will be often exceedingly severe and deleterious to them, then surely it was our duty to protest against such treatment of those poor ignorant people, who are more like grown-up children than an adult man-like race. A few days ago there came over the wire from Johannesburg the real reason of this forced recruitment of labour from Central Africa. Mr. George Albu, the President of the General Mining and Finance Corporation, stated at their annual meeting, that their concerns were in a very prosperous condition; that the realized profits for the year amounted to £422,000 and the share assets had been increased by £611,000. After paying dividends of 20%, the share investments and cash and claim holdings at current prices exceeded the capital and liabilities by over two millions sterling. Portions of the profits had been applied to writing down the book value of the share investments and to increase the hidden reserve. Mr. Albu stated that against his personal inclinations he had arrived at the conclusion that it was absolutely essential to import labour. The speaker could not see the necessity. It was unnatural, Mr. Albu said, for a country teeming with such great possibilities to remain starved for any length of time because the inhabitants were selfish enough to resist the Government. A more barefaced statement of an attempted fraud upon a poor ignorant people was never put before the world. This labour was to be paid for at the miserable rate of less than 1s. a day. For this they were to go into these unknown and unfavourable conditions, to eat food they were not accustomed to or starve, to be sent down 3,000 or 4,000 feet into the bowels of the earth, there to work upon that gold, which would be better left where it is if these were the only conditions upon which it could be brought to the surface. The speaker was sure that all present were against this proposed

introduction of labour to the Johannesburg mines from Central Africa, and that they desired that their voice and influence should be carried to Parliament to ask the Government to reconsider and reverse this unfortunate decision. (Applause.)

MR. J. E. QUINLAN, a coloured gentleman in the audience, then sent up his name, and suggested that the words "or from Jamaica and other British West Indian islands" should be inserted in the resolution. He quoted a statement made by Lord Harris at a meeting of the South African Gold Trust, in which he suggested that there was no objection to the importation of labour from the West Indies. A few days after, a special article in *The Times* of April 20th suggested that if agents from South Africa canvassed the West Indies for labour for the mines, they would very possibly succeed in inducing thousands of negroes to proceed thither. As a West Indian he protested against this, and begged to move the amendment, which Mr. D. E. TOBIAS seconded.

The amendment was then put to the meeting, and carried.

THE CHAIRMAN read the second resolution, as amended :—

"That this meeting also appeals to H.M. Government to prevent the natives of those parts of Central Africa which are under British protection, or from Jamaica and other British West Indian islands, from being induced to migrate to South Africa for work in the mines under conditions which will deprive the places from which they are taken of the advantage of their labour, and will prove physically and morally disastrous to themselves."

Sir W. BRAMPTON GURDON, K.C.M.G., C.B., President of the Aborigines Protection Society, in moving a vote of thanks to the Chairman, spoke of the sincere and earnest sympathy which Sir John Gorst had with the movement, a sympathy which was very greatly enhanced and made more valuable by the fact that he had himself had experience in the Colonies. He (the speaker) had had experience not only in South Africa, but also as a Missionary in British Central Africa, and he therefore felt very deeply on both sides of the subject. Their objection to labourers being taken away from Central Africa was not due to the fear that wages would rise in consequence. He had been very much struck with the new philanthropic theory which had been brought forward lately that the natives have very few wants; that they are able to live comfortably and be idle almost the whole of the year, and therefore that they are apt to get into mischief, and that it is an actual kindness to tax them to work, and to teach them the dignity of labour. Now South Africa or Central Africa were not the only parts of the world where there are persons with leisure, but he had never heard any proposal to teach leisured persons at home to work, or to tax them. He wished also to mention the danger of the natives who were brought into the mines from Portuguese territory. They wanted to know whether these really came of their own free will, or under compulsion, whether they understood the nature of the work they were to do, and the wages they had got to earn. Although he spoke a little of the language of Central Africa, he did not think he should find it easy

to explain the working in an underground mine to a native who had never seen one. On behalf of the Aborigines Protection Society, he asked the meeting to give their hearty thanks to Sir John Gorst.

MR. THOMAS BAYLEY, M.P., seconded the vote, which was carried unanimously.

SIR JOHN GORST briefly replied, after which the meeting separated.

The resolutions were forwarded by Sir John Gorst to the Secretary for the Colonies, who has formally acknowledged their receipt.

A COLONIAL OPINION.

In a paper recently read by Mr. B. H. Morgan on "The Trade and Industry of South Africa" at the Royal Colonial Institute, the following passages occur:—

"It is hard to foresee what the solution to the problem will be; but it probably lies with one of two alternatives—compelling the native to work, or importing Asiatic labour. Both alternatives are undesirable in the abstract. As to the first alternative, I do not regard it to be so difficult as it might at first seem. . . . I think the people of this country will be well advised to leave the solution of this intricate problem entirely in the hands of our Colonists—those who thoroughly understand the South African native, and who have to face the social and racial issues resulting from daily contact with him. Do not pay attention to the opinions on this subject uttered by people who have had no personal experience of the South African native in the compound and the kraal. It is absolutely impossible to understand the question without possessing such experience. Colonists believe—and my experience tells me that they are right—that the South African native is altogether an inferior animal to the white man, and must be treated accordingly. At the present time the native is treated much too leniently, with the result that he is insolent, lazy, and immoral. What was known as the 'Exeter Hall' sentiment of this country has brought this state of things about, and influenced legislation permitting liberties to the natives, which is fast making life in South Africa for white women and children well-nigh intolerable. During my short stay in South Africa I had numerous experiences of the increasing insolence of the natives. For a very long time yet there must be one law for the white man and another for the black. At present the law is in favour of the black man. The position must be reversed until at least he becomes more industrious, cleanly, and moral."

Among the speeches which followed the reading of this paper was that of Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton, Bart., G.C.M.G., who said it seemed to be taken for granted that white labour could not be employed at the mines in South Africa. He thought that, if that was to be taken as the fixed opinion of the Institute and the audience, they were going rather fast. It would, for instance, rather stultify their friends in Australia. They had all heard of, and some had visited, the mines in Western Australia, or Broken Hill in New South Wales. What did they find there? Prosperous mines and prosperous towns—everything indicating an enterprising and well-to-do population; but they did not see a single black or brown among them. Every single department was occupied by white men—many

perhaps Germans and Americans, especially among the chief engineers, who were hard-headed men, unlikely to undertake to perform impossibilities. White labour sufficed there, and therefore he was not disposed to agree with that part of the paper which took it almost for granted that white men were impossible in South Africa, and that they must have compulsory labour, if necessary, from the natives or others. He, for one, did not admit that these were the only alternatives, and he quite expected that that audience also would not accept them as a final solution of the problem.

Egypt and the Soudan.

PARLIAMENTARY PAPER.

"EGYPT NO. 1 (1903)."

IN Lord Cromer's annual report on the condition of Egypt during last year, he tells us, under the heading "Slavery," that the main interest in anti-slavery operations has now been transferred to the Soudan.

"In Egypt, five cases of kidnapping were brought to trial, in three of which convictions were obtained. In one of these, a gang of Cairo slave-dealers, whose proceedings had, for a long time past, been watched by the Anti-Slavery Department, were at last brought to justice. Three men were convicted. Of these, two were condemned to fifteen, and the third to five years' penal servitude. The other two cases occurred at Assouan. The dealers were Bishareen Arabs. In one case, two men were condemned to three and, in the other, one man to five years' penal servitude.

"It will be remembered that, under the Slavery Convention of the 21st November, 1895, jurisdiction in slavery cases, which was formerly exercised by courts-martial, was transferred to a special Civil Court. The new system has worked very well in practice. The sentences, to which allusion is made above, constitute in themselves a sufficient proof that the Court is animated by no undue spirit of lenity towards slave-dealers.

"In the course of the year 1902, 94 male and 144 female slaves were manumitted."

THE SOUDAN.

The second part of this volume is concerned with the Egyptian Soudan, where Lord Cromer considers that the state of affairs is, on the whole, very satisfactory. Sir Reginald Wingate, the Governor-General, reports that the southernmost station of the Soudan Government has now been fixed at Mongalla, a few miles north of Gondokoro, the most northern post of Uganda. The authority of the Government is being extended gradually over the Bahr-el Ghazal province, and a civil system of administration has been established there without opposition.

The natives of the mountainous districts are in a constant state of internecine conflict, and are subject to raids from nomad Arabs who carry off their women and children into slavery. In order to put a stop to this, the Camel Corps of the Egyptian army is being reorganized, and with the assistance of a detachment of the Camel Corps of the Anti-Slavery Department it is hoped to establish a

system of patrols and small posts in the most disturbed districts. Efforts are being made to extend to the Shilluk, Dinka, and other tribes of the Southern Soudan some form of government which will enable them to develop their resources, and put an end to the inter-tribal strife and slave-raiding which have so long prevailed among them.

Lord Cromer states that on his recent visit to the Soudan for the third time, he noticed "a very distinct advance in every direction," and that this progress is more rapid than could have been expected. This, unfortunately, cannot be said with regard to the suppression of slave-raiding and slavery, but Lord Cromer is not despondent as to the future. He makes the following observations on this subject.

SLAVERY.

"In my report for the year 1898 ('Egypt No. 3 of 1899,' p. 32), I stated that with the reconquest of the Soudan, a new chapter in the history of anti-slavery operations had commenced, that a decisive blow had been struck at the main props which held up the institution of slavery, and that the chief recruiting ground for slaves would, for the future, be closed to the slave-raiders.

"Looking to a future which, I trust, is not very distant, I still think that these anticipations do not err on the side of being unduly sanguine. But I am reluctantly obliged to confess that the immediate results of the re-occupation of the Soudan, in so far as the suppression of slave-raiding is concerned, have been less decisive than I had hoped. The difficulties to be encountered are, in fact, still very great. Broadly speaking, they may be said to arise from the enormous extent of country which has to be watched, and from the very imperfect means of locomotion which as yet exist in the Soudan.

"I should mention that, in the course of last year, a division of labour was arranged between the Anti-Slavery Department and the Soudan Government. It was decided that the former should concentrate its efforts on the suppression of slave-raiding, whilst the latter should deal exclusively with all matters connected with domestic slavery.

"As regards slave-raiding, I have to observe that it became evident, at the commencement of last year, that, before any effective measures could be adopted, it was essential to obtain more accurate information than any which then existed as to what was actually taking place in the remote regions which are the favourite haunts of the raiders.

"Captain McMurdo, therefore, undertook a lengthened tour along the Abyssinian frontier, in the course of which he collected a great deal of very useful information. He found that the Barun tribe of negroes are periodically raided by people living in the south-western districts of Abyssinia. The raiders are well armed. They descend into the plains in parties of from 100 to 200 strong, and attack the Baruns, who are only armed with swords and spears. The adult women and the children are carried off.

"Although the information as regards the western portion of the Soudan is not so complete as in the case of the country adjoining Abyssinia, there appears to be little doubt that much the same practices are pursued on the Kordofan frontier. The raiders come in from Darfour. Moreover, some of the remote tribes under the Soudan Government raid each other with a view to the capture of slaves. Some of these find their way into the Ghezireh (the district between the White and Blue Niles); others are taken to the Dongola Province; some supply the Tripoli market.

"In order to check these proceedings, two extra English Inspectors have been appointed. One is posted at Roseires and the other at El-Obeid. They have been instructed to form small mounted armed corps of the best Arabs in the various districts.

"The system,' Captain McMurdo writes, 'will naturally take some time to work as the Inspectors are new, and time must be allowed to them to learn their country and gain the confidence of the Arabs. I expect no very effective blow to be dealt to the raiders for at least a year. If the system is successful, there must be an increase of the force in order to safeguard the frontier from raids. I can see no other means of dealing an effective blow to the slave-raiders, and I have hopes that this system will work well. It will, of course, require great tact on the part of the Inspectors, and discretion in their choice of the Sheikhs and Arabs employed. They have some fine material to work with, and I see no reason why some of the finest tribesmen should not become loyal Government servants and form the foundation of an effective native police force. I believe I may state that Sir R. Wingate strongly supports this new scheme, and is hopeful of good results.'

"Time, patience, and continued vigilance will, without doubt, be required for some long while to come in dealing with this very important and interesting subject. At the same time, in spite of some acknowledged disappointment as to the results so far obtained in checking the slave trade, I am not inclined to modify the views I expressed in 1899. I then said that, inasmuch as the whole, or the greater part of Africa appeared to be falling within the sphere of influence of some one or other European Power, 'it was permissible to hope that the next generation would see the almost entire extinction of the institution of slavery.'

THE BERBER-SUAKIN RAILWAY.

We referred in our last issue to a speech made by Lord Cromer, at Khartoum, strongly urging the necessity of a railway to Suakin. Both he and Sir Reginald Wingate again refer to the construction of this line, the survey for which is now in progress. Lord Cromer is confirmed in his opinion that the railway is absolutely essential for the well-being of the Soudan, to bring it into communication with the sea, and so into touch with the outer world.

Cairo Home for Freed Women Slaves.

THE following letter from Lord Cromer gives a report of this institution for the past year :—

BRITISH AGENCY, CAIRO,

24th February, 1903.

SIR,—I beg to forward a statement of the accounts of the Cairo Home for Freed Women Slaves during the past year. You will observe that the balance in hand which, on January 1st, 1902, amounted to about £E64, had risen to about £E205 on December 31st.

Only twelve slaves passed through the Home in the course of the year. Of these six were Circassians; they were, at their own request, sent to Constantinople. The remaining six were Soudanese; one was married in the course of the year; situations were found for two others; the remaining three (a mother and two children) are at present in the Hasr-el-Aini Hospital.

The steady diminution in the number of slaves who enter the Home is, I do not doubt, due to the fact that, by reason of the very large number of manumissions which have taken place of late years, there are comparatively few slaves now residing at or near Cairo.

At the last meeting of the Committee the question of whether the Home should be closed was considered. On the whole, the members of the Committee are of opinion that the time has not yet arrived for reverting to this measure. It would be difficult to know how to deal with those freed slaves who now enter the Home unless an institution of this sort existed.

You will observe that a capital sum of £E600 has been invested in Egyptian stock on behalf of the Home; a further investment of probably £200 will now be made.

I cannot say that I have at this moment any precise plan to bring forward, but I have little doubt that sooner or later it will be found possible to devote this money to some useful purpose, either in the Soudan or in Egypt, connected with anti-slavery operations.

I am, Sir, your obedient humble servant,

(Signed) CROMER.

The Secretary,

Anti-Slavery Society.

HOME FOR FREED WOMEN SLAVES.

<i>Expenditure.</i>	<i>Receipts.</i>
£E. Mill.	£E. Mill.
Matron's Salary 63.375	Balance in Bank 1-1-02 64.564
Rent 48.748	From Egyptian Government 300.000
Household Expenses 90.160	Dividend on £600 Egyptian
Balance in Bank, 31-12-02 205.081	Unified 23.300
	Donations 19.500
Total 407.364	Total 407.364

Forced Labour in Angola.

TOWARDS the end of last year the Anti-Slavery Society addressed a letter to the Portuguese Legation, stating that they had received from several sources information as to the existence of slave trading and brutal treatment of the contract labourers in the Portuguese colony of Angola and in the islands of S. Thomé and Príncipe, and they asked if the Anti-Slavery Society of Portugal (which was founded in 1889, with the King as Honorary President), was still existing, that they might communicate to it the information which they had received.

No reply was received from the Portuguese Legation to this and a subsequent letter until the end of February last, when, with a formal covering note from the Portuguese Minister, the following statement, bearing no name, date, or signature, was forwarded to the Society.

(Translation.)

SIR,—In reply to Your Excellency's official letter, under date 30th December last, remitting a letter addressed to you by the Anti-Slavery Society of London as to the alleged acts of slavery in the Province of Angola, I have the honour to point to Your Excellency that the provisions, both ancient and modern, facile of reference in the acts of Portuguese legislation, upon the repression of Slavery, notably the measures I have myself taken as set forth in the Decrees of 2nd of July and 24th December of last year, and the Decree of 29th January last, place the Government in secure shelter of any suspicion with regard to facts like those indicated in the letter referred to, and which are absolutely void of confirmation.

Your Excellency is certainly well aware that in all our West African provinces there exist trustworthy tutelary departments of the natives:—as *Curadorias de Serviços e Colonos* (Guardian Offices for Labourers and Colonists), which constitute a perfect warranty for the avoidance of abuses in the employment of labour-hands in Portuguese Africa.

By means of the vigilance of these departments on the Coast, and aided by the administrative authorities and military posts of the interior, which date from a long time past, Portugal may justly boast of having completely suppressed the wicked traffic which nowadays only has an existence in the imagination of certain philanthropists.

Sir Henry Johnson (*sic*), at one time English Consul in Africa on the East Coast, gives an unsuspected testimony to the way that negro-labourers are treated in Portuguese Colonies: that they are compelled to have passports registered and viséd by their respective Curators, and it was stated at the famous Conference of the *Royal Geographical Society* that S. Thomé might be considered an ideal paradise for the Negroes, as those of S. Thomé were the happiest blacks in the world, and he went on giving a description of the locations, or "*Senzalas*" (Barracks) of the labourers on the cultivation lands of the island and of the good treatment they received.

The Rev. Thomas Lewis, of the Baptist Missionary Society, who resided for fifteen years as missionary on the Congo, in his pamphlet, "*O antigo Reino do Congo, sua situação presente e Futuro*" (The old Kingdom of Congo, its actual and future position), states his opinion, "it is a blessing for the country to be in the hands of the Portuguese, whose Government is the least arbitrary with the negro and under whom in Angola they enjoy better treatment than in other Colonies."*

Your Excellency will please observe that this testimony is borne by foreigners doing us the justice of observing the truly liberal and protective form of the mode of treatment administered to the natives in our Portuguese Colonies. With such a mode of procedure incontestably truthful there can be no standing ground for the accusations formulated on the part of the Anti-Slavery Society of London which the Government repel, as absolutely destitute of foundation.

Such are the impressions produced by my perusal of the letter referred to, and Your Excellency may make such use of my observations as you may deem convenient.

A strange comment on the above statement is furnished by the following paragraph from the *Morning Leader* of March 16th:—

A COLONIAL SCANDAL.

PORTUGUESE OFFICERS PUNISHED FOR CRUELTY AND SLAVING.

From our own Correspondent, Lisbon, March 10.

Twenty-seven prominent merchants and army officers, including five captains, have been sentenced to terms of from five to twenty years' transportation, for causing the recent revolt in Loanda, in Portuguese Africa, by slave trading and cruelties to natives.

[The foregoing message was suppressed by the censor in Lisbon when handed in to be telegraphed.]

We are glad to state that, since the above letter was received, a visit has been paid to Lisbon by Mr. W. A. Cadbury, of the well-known Company of Messrs. Cadbury Brothers, Limited, of Birmingham, who was joined by Mr. M. Z. Stober, the missionary whose reports have been quoted in these pages, with the object of making inquiry, from persons at Lisbon interested in the trade of Angola and the islands, into the facts which have come to light. The journey was undertaken on behalf of Cadbury Brothers, who had the co-operation and sympathy of the Bristol firm of Fry and Sons in their investigation.

Mr. Cadbury spent some days in Lisbon, and obtained interesting interviews with several of the chief planters, and others who have to do with the islands, with whom he was able fully to discuss the state of things prevailing there. Mr. Cadbury and Mr. Stober also called on the British Minister, Sir Martin Gosselin, who received them with much kindness, and showed great interest in the object of their visit to Lisbon, and in Mr. Stober's work in Angola. Through Sir M. Gosselin, they also obtained an interview with the Minister of Marine and the Colonies.

It was ascertained that new labour regulations for San Thomé and Príncipe were passed on January 29th, and are coming into force. An important part of

* [We cannot find this passage in our copy of Mr. Lewis' pamphlet.—Ed. A. S. Reporter.]

these is that each man employed on the plantations is to receive 2,500 reis per month (about 8/6) *minimum* wages, of which 40% must be paid into the Bank and accumulated against his return, to be paid to him when sent back to Angola. Hitherto no labourer has ever saved enough to pay his passage home, and it was admitted that, under the old system, none of the labour poured into San Thomé has ever returned. The regulations also relate to the recruitment, collection and distribution of labourers, the contracts under which they are engaged, the appointment of agents, the conditions of labour, etc.

Under the old regulations, there was practical slavery in the collection of labourers from the native chiefs in Angola, but the new rules limit the payments made to them.

No steamship line but the Portuguese carries the contracted labourers to the islands, and the mortality entailed by the journey from the interior to the coast is terribly high. The state of the natives when they arrive at the islands is wretched in the extreme, and they are described as a cowering, timid people.

Great vigilance will be needed to see that the new regulations do not remain a dead letter, but are effectively carried out, and to that end it is desirable that these inquiries should be followed up by actual inspection of the conditions on the islands themselves in a few months' time.

Mr. Stober was surprised to find how much ignorance exists among the Portuguese of affairs in their colonies; at the same time he found them highly sensitive to the charges brought against their representatives of cruelty and barbarity. Strangely enough, the visit of these gentlemen coincided in time with the publication in the Portuguese newspapers of the trials which have been held in connection with last year's revolt in Loanda, and the punishment inflicted on Government officials for their treatment of the natives. Much public indignation was excited in Lisbon by these revelations.

The Committee of the Anti-Slavery Society has addressed a letter to Sir Martin Gosselin at Lisbon, expressing the hope that it may be found possible to give practical effect to the new regulations of January 29th for the improvement of the condition of the labourers on the plantations of the islands, and making enquiry as to the possibility of a British Resident being appointed on San Thomé to watch the question. Sir M. Gosselin writes in reply that he has forwarded a copy of the Society's letter to Lord Lansdowne.

Slave Trade Papers.*

THIS volume, which, in accordance with the terms of the Brussels Act, is annually published at Brussels, contains reports from the different Powers in Africa on the slave trade and slavery, as well as on the trade in firearms and liquor, for the year 1902.

* Documents relatifs à la Répression de la Traite des Esclaves, Brussels. 1903.

The documents relating to slavery in British possessions have in most cases been already dealt with in these pages at the time of their original publication. Among the exceptions are:—A short report from the Gold Coast stating that in 1901 slave raids and slave dealing called for prompt measures of repression and punishment, and the kidnapping of children was common, and a report from the High Commissioner of Southern Nigeria on the operations of the Aro Field Force in the winter of 1901-2, the objects of which were to abolish the slave trade and the Long Juju fetish, to introduce a currency in lieu of slaves and to establish a labour market throughout the territories; Sir Ralph Moor considers that these objects have been effectively carried out in so far as could be done by military operations.

As regards the possessions of Germany, the text is published of two ordinances of 1902 relating to domestic slavery in Togoland and Cameroons, forbidding the sale and exchange of domestic slaves and attempting to modify the incidents of the institution with a view to its gradual abolition.

In German East Africa 2,404 slaves received freedom papers during 1901, while a small list of 43 persons is given as having been condemned for slave-dealing by sea.

The text of an important circular addressed, in December last, to all the officials of this Colony concerning measures to be taken against the slave trade is here given in full. It is stated that the success of the traffic in Ruanda, and in districts remote from military posts, makes it necessary that governors should devote their special attention to this subject, and that suspected districts should be carefully watched. In serious cases, habitual slave-trading is to be punished by death. Control is to be exercised over caravans going towards the coast, especially those which include women and children.

Further, as regards domestic slavery, precautions are to be taken against transferring the rights of property in slaves brought from one district to another and especially from the interior. In such cases the legality of their servile condition is to be carefully investigated, the slave is to be examined, if possible, in the absence of the master, and if his condition is at all doubtful, he is to receive freedom papers. Coast officials are advised to use all possible means to prevent slaves from outside from being brought into their districts, and to institute criminal proceedings into suspected cases.

All these measures, and the rewards promised to those who shall give information as to slave-trading, are to be published in public assembly.

We note a Decree passed in October, 1901, for the Ivory Coast (French), to check the recruiting of native labourers for the mines of the Gold Coast, and prevent this unauthorized deportation, on the ground of the economic danger to the colony.

No other papers call for notice except the report of the Zanzibar Bureau, of which we translate the main portion *in extenso* :—

REPORT OF THE INTERNATIONAL MARITIME BUREAU OF ZANZIBAR FOR THE
YEAR 1902.

The chief interest of the Bureau was concentrated on the events which happened on the coast of the Portuguese colony of Mozambique, and which

have been the subject of a special report by the Officer Commanding the Portuguese Naval Division in the Indian Ocean, which the Portuguese delegate has handed in to the Bureau. . . . This document, which is illustrated by several photographs, is incorporated with the present annual report.

"As a result of the occurrences therein set forth, and to put an end definitely to the slave trade on the coast of Mozambique, the Government of that Colony has just established military posts in the rivers and creeks chiefly frequented by the negro ships, to the number of 27, 11 of them commanded by officers and 16 by non-commissioned officers, with an effective total of 555 men. These posts are placed between the stations of the four military companies which furnish their respective contingents and are established at Fernao Vellozo, Mossuril, Kinga, and Angoche. The result is that now all the Mozambique coast between the 13th and 18th degrees of south latitude, from the Bay of Lurio down to the neighbourhood of Quilimane, is fairly well guarded, and the orders received by the commanders of posts to explore all the corners of the surrounding country and all the places of shelter afforded by the streams and covered by vegetation, to reconnoitre the country as far inland as possible, and to keep a watch over the tribes inhabiting it, will give the finishing stroke to the slave trade and make it impossible.

"These posts will also serve to render more difficult the smuggling of arms and gunpowder which not only helped the purchase of slaves but defended those who held them against the military forces who caught the slave-merchants in the act.

"Small gunboats have already received orders to go on a cruising expedition to visit and support all these little posts and protect them, if necessary, against the attacks of natives instigated by the slavers.

"The slave trade had somewhat developed of late in this part of the Mozambique coast, because all the attention of the higher authorities of the colony and all its military and naval forces were concentrated in South Africa. Now that the Transvaal war is over, the slave merchants will not be allowed to have it all their own way.

"The Zanzibar Bureau, to which the President has communicated all these arrangements which had been transmitted to him as Consul-General of Portugal by the Mozambique Government, has manifested its satisfaction with the measures taken by the Portuguese authorities, which will have as their result the definite suppression of the trade to the south of Zanguebar.

"No sentence in any slave-trading case has been handed in to the records of the Bureau, but it must not be thought from this that, except for what has taken place in the Mozambique province, attempts directed against the life and liberty of the negroes have passed completely unnoticed during 1902. At the sitting of March 15th, M. Pestalozza, the Italian delegate, announced that a Swahili, not long before, had taken refuge at Itala in the Benadir Protectorate. This negro had just escaped from a boat on which he had been kept prisoner. He was a fisherman by trade and being out at sea was hailed by the sailors of the boat who asked him to sell them some fish. As soon as he got near the boat he was seized and carried off into slavery. As he described himself as a native of the port of Kilwa, M. Pestalozza sent him to the German Consulate. There, after a more detailed investigation, it was discovered that his native place was not the

German port of Kilwa, but that of Kirwa in the Portuguese Colony of Mozambique, to which he was repatriated through the Consulate-General of Portugal.

"No other important matter has occupied the Bureau.

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS.

"The reasons to which we may attribute a result so favourable to the suppression of the slave trade are the following :—

1. There has been no famine in the interior, which usually drives the natives to the coast and makes them a prey to the violence and cunning of the traders.
2. The passage from the coast to the island of Zanzibar, formerly regarded as an easy outlet, finds itself, so to speak, closed to the trade. All boats which pass the harbour of Zanzibar are controlled by the respective authorities in so strict a manner that it seems almost impossible to carry on a trade in slaves.
3. It may, however, still happen that some traders evade the control of the coast harbours and bring slaves in fishing boats. But even in these cases they cannot make money out of their capture, for the decrees of the Zanzibar Government abolishing the legal status of slavery in that island are by this time sufficiently known to prevent the Arabs from laying out money in purchasing new slaves who can at once obtain their freedom on demand. The compensation which is eventually paid to the owner is so small that he will always lose by such a transaction.
4. The export of slaves from Zanzibar to the northern countries is prevented by the very strict watch kept on all boats leaving that port.

"From all this it follows that the efforts of the Signatory Powers to suppress the slave trade have had a result on which they may congratulate themselves. Thanks to the energetic measures taken by the Administrator of the Portuguese colony of Mozambique after the events of February, 1902, the brigands have been tracked to their last strongholds, and there is ground for hope that the hateful traffic in which they are engaged will soon have received its final blow.

"However, the attempts of Arab slavers to recruit slaves in East Africa will not come to an end so long as there exist markets in the districts about the Persian Gulf where slaves fetch a good price."

Then follows a long report by the Commander of the Portuguese Naval Division of the Indian Ocean on the fighting with slave-traders which took place off the coast of Mozambique in February, 1902. In his remarks on the actual condition of the trade in slaves, this officer states that it may be divided into two classes—large trade and small. The boats belonging to the first class come to the coast for slaves, and carry on at the same time smuggling operations and a trade in firearms and gunpowder, with which they pay for the slaves. This traffic is carried on by influential syndicates, and has agents at Bombay, Zanzibar, and Muscat. The boats mostly put into Zanzibar, but as their papers are regular and in order according to the Brussels Act, they cannot be touched, and the only result of the strict look-out which is kept for slaves is to increase the barbarity of the conditions under which the slaves are transported. The wretched natives are packed in the hold, so that there may be no sign of their

presence such as would enable a search to be made. When loaded up with slaves the vessels make for the slave market at Muscat, where they find a ready sale.

A sharp engagement took place on the 5th of February last year between two slavers and the gunboat *Chaimite* at Nabouri, after which the rest of the squadron was ordered out, and the slavers, who showed considerable skill in defending themselves, were routed. Eventually 725 slaves, including men, women and children, barbarously fastened up in forks, were given up. The slave-dealers were then attacked by the natives and some freed slaves, and there was some savage fighting and bloodshed, but the combatants were at length surrounded by the Portuguese troops and overpowered. The Commander states that in view of the military organization and the effective usurpation of Portuguese territories he had to treat the slave-dealers as enemies of the country, declare a state of war, and consider them as surprised in a flagrant act of piracy.

The smaller kind of slave trade is carried on by boats which are used chiefly for smuggling purposes, and also take slaves as a means of exchange; the field for these is to the north of Ibo. This kind, the writer says, will be the most difficult to suppress, because the terms of the Brussels Act are so favourable to it that it can be carried on almost without risk. It is seldom that one of these boats bound for Muscat does not carry a slave on board.

The naval force of this Division is to be augmented, and it is hoped that the day of slave-trading on a large scale is over. At the same time the tenacity of the Asiatic character, the huge profits of slave-trading and the influence of Mohammedan beliefs will not easily allow slave traffic to be brought to an end; the smaller kind of trade is likely to develop, so long as the Muscat market exists and the stipulations of the Brussels Act continue to protect it. On this point the writer suggests that the search of a suspected vessel should not be carried out in such a way as to prevent its being discovered that the cargo is composed of human beings.

"It is," he writes, "an undoubted fact, that hundreds and even thousands of negroes are and will be transported with impunity like common bales of merchandise. The mere permission to remove the hatchways of the hold will have more effect in putting down the trade than all the provisions of Chapter III. of the General Brussels Act."

Slavery in Zanzibar.

MR. A. S. ROGERS, the Regent and First Minister of the Sultan of Zanzibar, attended, by invitation, the April meeting of the Committee of the Anti-Slavery Society, and spoke as to the present position of the islands in regard to slavery. He informed the Committee that the labour-contracts in Pemba were introduced because they were considered necessary by Mr. Farler; he agreed, however, that the obligations of the contract ought to be binding on both parties to it, and that

the employer should sign as well as the labourer. We understand that this point has also been impressed on Mr. Cave, the acting Consul-General, and that employers are now made to sign the contracts.

Although Lord Cranborne gave an officially discouraging reply to the question recently put in the House of Commons, which we quote below, we have reason for believing that there may probably be before long a change of policy in regard to slavery on the part of the Government, the official opinion being already divided on the question of continuing the system of compensation to the slave-owners.

HOUSE OF COMMONS. March 18th.

In reply to Mr. J. W. Wilson, who asked whether it was the intention of His Majesty's Government to recommend the Sultan's Government to abolish at an early date the regulations as to payment of compensation for slaves freed, Viscount Cranborne stated that the Government are unaware that there exists any difficulty whatever in the liberation of the remaining slaves in Zanzibar and Pemba. Emancipation lies in their own hands, and no action seems required to achieve this object.

Slavery in Italian Somaliland.

THE promised official inquiry into the allegations of slavery which were brought against the Benadir Company was carried out by the Italian Consul-General at Zanzibar, Signor Pestalozza, and a naval officer, Count di Monale. The general purport of the Report issued by these officials was to confirm, to a large extent, the charges which had been made, although it acquitted the Company's officials of the gravest allegation, that of actual participation in slave trading.

Signor Pestalozza found that transfers and sales of slaves had on several occasions been actually inscribed in the registers of the Company by native Cadis without the knowledge of the Italian officials; he does not believe that this registration of illegal traffic was allowed by the Company for the sake of the small gain on the contracts, but he charges the authorities with extreme negligence, from which several results have followed:—

- (1) The entrance of slaves into Benadir.
- (2) Frequent illegalities in the way of transfers of slaves have been allowed to take place in Mukdishu and elsewhere.
- (3) A belief has arisen, not without good reason, in the intention to perpetuate slavery in Benadir.

Captain di Monale entertains even less doubt, in his Report, as to the open character of the sales of slaves in the colony. Further, he has serious faults to find with the general administration of the Company, which "has no proper or well-defined organization, either civil or military." The administration of justice is left almost entirely to native Cadis, and gives rise to constant abuses. The Company does little or nothing to develop the colony, or even to ensure public security.

In the course of debates which took place in the Chamber of Deputies in Rome, Admiral Morin, the acting Foreign Minister, admitted that the work accomplished by the Company had fallen short of reasonable expectations, and that it had not fulfilled its civilizing mission. More should have been done towards the gradual eradication of slavery. The Government, however, was not at present prepared to revoke the Company's Charter, but will recall its own officials in the colony who have shielded the Company, and replace them by independent men.

It is not pleasant, as the *Manchester Guardian* has remarked, to find that Signor Pestalozza apologizes for the Company's laxity by appealing to the example of British and German Colonies and Protectorates in East Africa.

In the recent Green Book he wrote :—

"Both in Zanzibar and the neighbouring German and English colonies the orders respecting slavery (where any exist) are interpreted in a broad sense as applying chiefly to the prevention of the export of slaves. In Zanzibar there is a growing anxiety on the part of the authorities and of the British Government itself on account of the scarcity of labour owing to the freed slaves' repugnance to work ; and for this reason there have been and are attempts to find a remedy by means of special orders which may attract and compel them to work."

We have not yet heard the result of the independent inquiry which was carried out by the Italian Anti-Slavery Society.

RED SEA SLAVE TRADING.

Two articles in the *Morning Leader* early in this year drew attention to the activity of the slave dhows in the Southern part of the Red Sea, which transport slaves to Yemen for the supply of the Turkish market.

"My informant in these matters is a person intimately acquainted with the East, and with the general state of slavery there. Some little while ago the Abouna, or Primate, of the Abyssinian Christian Church, who is also, by virtue of this position, the Prime Minister of the Negus's kingdom, was asked how far slavery continued in his country, and indignantly denied that any existed. Nevertheless, the general conditions of the country are such that the slave traders manage to pick up captives from the borders of Abyssinia, although their best hunting ground is the African interior. In all cases the captives are boys and girls, older slaves finding no purchasers. With their human droves the slavers slip down to the coast, their easiest passage, my friend said, being through the Italian territory, though there is little doubt that they constantly find their way through British territory as well. And once at the coast they have little difficulty in getting across to Yemen. Either they run over without lights at night time, or they go boldly across in broad daylight, and if a gunboat heaves in sight they fly precisely that flag under which they think they are secure from the stranger's curiosity.

"Four years ago an employee in the firm of Pereiras laid hands on a cargo of 70 slaves near Hodeidah ; and I was told on inquiry here in Rome that Italian gunboats are continually patrolling these waters, and that captures are reported from time to time at the International Bureau for the Abolition of Slavery at Brussels. But the

secret of the success of the trade is that the slavers go where the gunboats cannot follow them. In many places the coast of Yemen is protected by long reefs, behind which, as was noticed at the time of Italy's attack on the Red Sea pirates of Midy, the slavers can absolutely defy pursuit, except by the lightest boats. Here, too, it is believed, my friend told me, that islands exist where the captives are stored and prepared for the market, though numbers of them die from the brutal ill-treatment they receive."

The experiences of an Englishman, who for five years was employed by a company in Yemen to prevent the smuggling of arms, pearls, tobacco, and other contraband goods into Yemen, are related in a second article. It was his business also to seize—on behalf of the Turkish Government—slaves who were found on these dhows, and, in his opinion, the slave trade in the Red Sea has seen a revival of late years, and it is impossible to stop it until the Powers take joint action against it. At present the mutual jealousies of the different nationalities in the East are such that no one dares to take a decided initiative for fear of "complications" which might arise.

SOKOTO.

(From the *Spectator*, April 18th.)

[TO THE EDITOR OF THE "SPECTATOR."]

SIR,—In your interesting article in the *Spectator* of April 4th under the above heading, and commencing, "Another kingdom acquired this week!" you state, I fear with considerable truth, that "the British people as a body know absolutely nothing about it, not even its geography." Some of your readers may be interested in knowing that a volume, by Charles H. Robinson, M.A., published in 1896 by Sampson Low and Co., under the title "Hausaland," contains a mass of information respecting Sokoto and the great city of Kano, "the Manchester of Tropical Africa," which deserves careful study at the present time. I had the privilege of an interview some seven years ago with Mr. Robinson shortly after his return from a visit to Kano. He informed me that in Hausaland, *under the British sphere of influence*, there then existed five million slaves, and that five hundred were often to be seen for sale in the Kano market. They formed, in fact, the main currency of the land, and were used as payment in all transactions too large to be met by the bulky bags of cowries. The annual tribute to the Sultan of Sokoto was paid by the ruler of Kano and all other smaller chiefs in the form of slaves, and, sad to say, these were nearly all raided from the neighbouring outlying villages, so that there may be said to have been an almost constant civil war throughout the land. To give some idea of the vast number of slaves, Mr. Robinson estimates that if the whole population of the world were brought together, one out of every three hundred would be a Hausa-speaking slave. Perhaps this might be more easily understood by the British public if I state that if all London were suddenly emptied of its inhabitants, this vast metropolis might

be filled by the slaves held in captivity in Hausaland. It is very well known that Kano is the great commercial emporium of Central Tropical Africa, and that its calicoes, beautifully made from native cotton, are eagerly purchased in the ports of Western and Northern Africa, and may be obtained in Egypt and on the Red Sea. Kano itself, being nearly 2,000 feet above sea-level, is described as healthy and free from the malarial influences of the lower countries. Sir F. Lugard is to be warmly congratulated upon the comparatively bloodless manner in which he has pacified the countries of Central Africa from East to West. The great and baneful Fulah Mahommedan Power, which has lasted for about a century, received its first severe blow from Sir George Taubman Goldie in 1897, and will now be superseded by British rule. The excellent advice contained in your article respecting the future administration of Hausaland ought to carry great weight with our Government and the public at large.—I am, Sir, &c.,

CHAS. H. ALLEN

(late Hon. Sec. British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society).

NEW ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY IN PERSIA.

WE are exceedingly glad to learn from M. Pater, who is a corresponding member of our own Society, that an anti-slavery society has just been formed in Teheran. The new association, according to its statutes, a copy of which has been sent to us, has for its end to prevent slavery in general, in accordance with the Brussels Act of 1890. It will endeavour to get all available information about persons treated contrary to the provisions of the Act, and to refer their cases to competent authorities; it will find situations for freed persons, and will undertake the care of those too young to gain their own livelihood in a special school; the society will examine into the complaints of the oppressed, and will endeavour to spread humanitarian ideas.

M. Pater is himself the president of the provisional committee, and at the first meeting, which was held on the 6th of March last, he issued an address of welcome to all those interested, in the name of the 38,000 Africans in Persia. At the same time an appeal was issued to people of all religions, calling on them to help in the redemption of the African peoples, who are still oppressed by the chains of slavery, pointing out that the slave trade and man-hunts still prevail in that continent, with their attendant horrors.

The new society is to be congratulated on its foundation in a country where it may be easily supposed that obstacles abound and sympathy is scanty, and we wish it well in its difficult task.

Forced Labour in Fiji.

THERE are at present in England two gentlemen, Mr. Humphry Berkeley, a member of the English Bar, and Dr. Fox, who have come as delegates from the natives of Fiji, to call attention to the wrongs which are inflicted upon

these people, and to present a petition to the King for their relief. The story which they have to tell of the oppression of the Fijians and the denial of justice to them is as strange as it is deplorable, for Fiji has been a British Crown Colony since 1874.

The first wrong complained of is the excessive taxation to which the natives are subject. In addition to indirect taxation they have to pay a poll-tax of 24s. a head, which is not paid in money but in kind. The native has to plant crops of maize or cotton, which are sent in to the Government and sold to realize the tax, and the peculiar method of assessment on the so-called "communal system" involves a far heavier burden than the nominal amount of the poll-tax. The total sum raised by this tax is about £18,000, of which over £7,500 is the cost of collection. In addition to this, the native is bound to give his labour free when called upon by the Government, on pain of imprisonment in case of refusal. Hundreds of miles of roads and other public works in the colony have been made by this compulsory labour.

Oppressive legislation has been necessary in order to maintain the communal system and the poll-tax; the natives have no representation or franchise, but are in everything hedged round by multiplied Government regulations. Thus no native may leave his own district, much less the colony, without official leave; if he does, he is liable to arrest and punishment.

Mr. Berkeley gives instances which have come under his own knowledge of natives who have been flogged, imprisoned for long terms, and deported without trial at the will of the officials. The native regulations admit of no appeal, and counsel is not allowed to appear in court on their behalf.

In the course of fifteen years the native population has decreased by some 15,000 persons under this system of slavery.

We quote some extracts from the petition which the Fijians have addressed to the King:—

"A very heavy burden indeed is the way in which our districts and villages are bound together for tax purposes. The individual tax assessment is £1 4s., and this would be only a small sum if each man was free to pay it as he chose. The evil is that we are not free, for then there would not be any surplus tax money for the officials to take. When there is a surplus the people receive 2s. or 4s. each, but the chiefs get a much larger sum. This is the thing that engages us most of the year. Another thing the chiefs do, is to claim to make free use, whenever they want, of our cutters and boats. The following are some of the burdens the officials claim the right to impose on us:—

(1) To plant their gardens. (2) To give them property. (3) To build their houses. (4) To give them money. (5) To supply them with food, cooked, and in a raw state. (6) To supply them with fish. (7) To give them facilities for free travel at all times in their boats. (8) To be their messengers. (9) To make roads. This last is a very oppressive thing indeed.

"The Provincial Inspectors also that have been newly appointed and may make all kinds of impositions on us, we are truly their slaves. They vex us every

day with their multitudinous orders. They make us increase and widen the roads; they make us remove our villages without reason; they hurry us with building houses and encroach on other work, so what time have we to attend to our own affairs, or to the affairs of our wives and children? . . . The officials follow their own minds as to the time and nature of their impositions on us.

"The various peoples who have come to Fiji are increasing in every way, in numbers and in wealth. But we, the real owners, are wretched because we are bound fast by the system of government. . . . In the month of December only we have two weeks of freedom. And if a man happens to be away a day in excess of the appointed time he is fined, and the little money he has been able to earn is used in paying the fine."

A series of questions on Fijian affairs was put in the House of Commons on May 5th, in reply to which Mr. Chamberlain denied that there was any poll-tax in Fiji, but stated that the whole system of native taxation was receiving the close attention of the recently appointed Governor. He was not aware that the armed native constabulary of Fiji had been employed in road-making; he had suggested to the Governor that when employed on such work as levelling and draining their parade ground and camp they should receive some form of additional pay or allowance. With regard to the petition signed by 20,000 natives of Fiji, Mr. Chamberlain hinted that it must go through the Governor and the Secretary of State for the Colonies. As at present advised, he was of opinion that it was necessary to retain the power of deportation of chiefs.

SLAVERY IN GERMAN EAST AFRICA.

IN the course of a discussion of the Colonial Estimates in the Reichstag on March 21st, Dr. Stübel, Director of the Colonial Department, said it was intended absolutely to abolish slavery, including household slavery, in German East Africa, but at present things were in a state of transition to modern economic conditions. In East Africa 1,500 patents of freedom were issued in 1901*, and 2,037 in 1902. The Colonial Administration was applying itself to nothing more earnestly than the total abolition of slavery.

ANTI-SLAVERY CONGRESS IN ROME.

ON the 22nd of April, the President of the Académie des Arcadiens, Rome, inaugurated a Congress against Slavery. Commandant Tolli, president of the Italian Catholic Anti-Slavery Society, delivered an opening address, and announced the formation of an organization, of which Cardinal Casetta was honorary president, and Commandant Tolli effective president. A letter to the Pope was read, giving adhesion to the programme by the Anti-Slavery Societies of England, France, Belgium and Germany. Father Rosereau, missionary, described the progress made by French missions on the Congo, in Nigeria, and in Madagascar. A representative of the French Anti-Slavery Society brought the Congress a message of encouragement and congratulation from France and Paris.

* [This number does not agree with the number officially given. See page 63. Ed. *A.S. Reporter*.]